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This study, based on interviews with North American students and Peace Corps trainees in Bogota, and their host families, professors, and other Colombians in contact with the students, attempts to define the non-linguistic barriers to cross-cultural communication between North Americans and Colombians. The purpose of the study is to gather data for instructional materials which could help North Americans close the cultural gap in their dealings with Latin Americans. Results of the study are presented in two parts: (1) a description of the type and amount of data collected and (2) a description of the instructional materials completed thus far. Appendixes include a list of units of instruction which could be developed from the data and the tables of contents for the two units already completed. Finished units are "Initial Immersion in a Foreign Culture," available as FL 001 090 and "Spanish Personal Names," FL 001 089. (DS)

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Project No. 7-0267
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Raymond L. Gorden

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Antioch College
Yellow Springs, Ohio

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Acknowledgments

Unlike research in the natural sciences, studies of social behavior depend directly upon goodwill between the investigator and the other human beings involved in the data-collection process. This dependence is even more vital in cross-cultural studies where we must develop understanding between members of both cultures in order to carry out the investigation.

This investigator feels particularly fortunate to have had the high degree of interest, cooperation and support of many Colombians in the pursuit of objective but often subtle information.

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I. Introduction

A. The Problem. If we are to facilitate communication between North Americans and Latin Americans, we must not only surmount the language barrier, but also recognize that other facets of culture must be understood in addition to language. It is the purpose of this project to identify some of those non-linguistic differences which act as barriers to communication between North Americans and Latin Americans, and to produce concrete instructional materials to help the North American bridge this non-linguistic gap. Although the primary aim is to produce materials directly relevant to North Americans who expect to interact with Latin Americans, there is also a secondary aim to produce materials which are also useful to infuse into college social science courses as cross-cultural examples of standard concepts.

These materials aim to provide descriptive facts, sensitizing frames of reference, and insight-producing case materials to demonstrate how non-linguistic differences between cultures distort the meaning of the verbal or visual messages exchanged between members of the two cultures.

Today most of the "cultural materials" used in connection with language instruction in Spanish at the college level have a strongly belletristic flavor, which often has little to do with culture as viewed by social scientists and as directly encountered by the North American as he comes face-to-face with Latin Americans in their own cultural setting. Outside the field of literature, the area study materials are usually heavily laden with political and military history, geography, and descriptive economics, which have limited value in preparing a student for successful participation in the culture.[1] Rarely is there an attempt to systematically compare the student's

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[1] Even the concepts which are potentially relevant to cross-cultural communication problems (such as acculturation, assimilation, socialization, ethnocentrism, culture shock, social conflict, role conflict, value conflict, dissonant expectations, social distance, marginal man, or group synergy) are often of little practical value in preparing a person for successful participation in a foreign culture because of the wide gap between the abstract concepts and their consequences in the concrete experience of individuals involved in a cross-cultural experience.

own culture and the foreign culture, and to relate this comparison to the problems which arise in the interaction between the individuals who are the products of the two cultures.

Although the more conventional and readily available cultural materials are useful, they leave a wide gap between the theoretical and the experiential to be bridged by North Americans who must interact with Latin Americans in any cooperative endeavor. Materials are needed which provide a more direct connection between historico-socio-cultural analysis and direct experience in the Latin American culture.

In general it seems that those persons who have recently become most directly concerned with these non-linguistic elements in cross-cultural communication, such as Edward T. Hall, have relied on their own insightful impressions to illustrate the need for a more direct and systematic attack on the problem. For example, Hall[1] points out that he has found it necessary to sell the idea to some foreign service officers who "failed to grasp the fact that there was something really different about overseas operations; that what was needed was something bold and new, not just more of the same old history, economics and politics." But once the selling job was done, he discovered the more serious problem:

> "Those Foreign Service officers and other trainees who did take seriously what they heard and managed to make something out of it came up against another problem. They would say, 'Yes, I can see that you have something there. Now I'm going to Damascus. Where can I read something that will help me to do business with the Arabs?' We were stumped!"

His ejaculation, "We were stumped!" expresses the situation with respect to training Peace Corps Volunteers for work in Latin America, or preparing students to take full advantage of their stay in Colombia, or preparing Latin American students to come to the U.S. This project is an attempt to fill this vacuum.

B. Theoretical Orientation. Many of the basic concepts of sociology and social psychology point to the idea that language as such is both a product of and a means to social interaction. The complete meaning of a word can be conveyed to another person only by virtue of a context of

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[1] Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language, Premier Books, 1965, p. 36.

shared definitions which includes, but is larger than, the language itself.

For example, George Herbert Mead[1] points out that communication depends on the two communicators' ability to take the role of the other, and that to do so, the two communicators must be familiar with the social matrix in which both are operating.

Similarly, W. I. Thomas[2] points out that successful cooperative interaction between two people requires not only a common language but a common "definition of the situation" which provides the broader social context in which the exchange will have a common meaning to the two communicators.

Much of Durkheim's approach to society and culture was based on the concept of the "collective representation" which was seen as a body of shared beliefs and valuations which both grew out of social interaction and regulated the interaction process including verbal communication.[3] He makes it clear that all meaning, not only religious meaning, is dependent upon the development of shared value systems and assumptions about the nature of reality.

The same general idea is dealt with by Weber as he traces the relationship between subjective meaning and the social system in which the individual is operating. He argues that social action (including communication) is possible insofar as a person is able to take into account the probable behavior of others in the system. He also points out that the more radically the value system of another person differs from one's own, the more difficult it is for us to predict the effects of our own actions on the other's behavior, and the more difficult it would be to predict his interpretation of our words.[4]

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[1]George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self and Society, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934, pp. 253-57.

[2]William I. Thomas, The Unadjusted Girl, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 41-44.

[3]Emile Durkheim, Elementary Forms of Religious Life, translated by Joseph Ward Swain, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954.

[4]Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, edited by Talcott Parsons, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, pp. 88-100.

1. Studies of multi-lingualism. One of the general ideas suggested by several studies of bi-lingualism or multi-lingualism, even though it is rarely the central focus of the study, is that the full meaning of a verbal communication depends to a great extent upon the social context of different types of situations. This is revealed in varying ways. For example, in multi-lingual communities, the language spoken at any given moment between multi-lingual people will depend upon the topic of discussion. These topics are often situationally oriented. For example, talk about food, cooking or household chores may take place in one language, while discussion of international events will take place in another. Furthermore, the speaker would find it very difficult to talk about a given topic in the "wrong" language even though he is "fluent" in both. This suggests that the language takes on a richness of connotations which are supplied by a common understanding of the setting in which the language is customarily used. The language is a shorthand way of dealing with the topic without having to spell out all of the common understandings regarding the situation in question.[1]

2. Studies of mono-lingual variation. Studies of diachronic or synchronic variation in a particular language show that the meaning of a word varies, for example, from place, group to group, social strata to social strata, and from one sex to the other. Whether the object of the study is regional dialects, ingroup jargons, or the varying universe of discourse of different occupational groups, the implication is clear that the meaning is derived by adding to the words the unspoken assumptions and knowledge

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[1]For example:

G. Barker, "Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community," Acta Americana, Vol. 3 (1947), p. 185.

E. E. Bourguignon, "Class Structure and Acculturation in Haiti," Ohio Journal of Science, Vol. 52 (1952), pp. 317-20.

W. E. Lambert (et al), "The Influence of Language-Acquisition Contexts on Bilingualism," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 56 (1958), pp. 239-55.

Louisa P. Howe, "Some Sociological Aspects of Identification," Psycho-Analysis and the Social Sciences, Vol. IV (1955), pp. 61-79.

shared by the particular group. Since these unspoken assumptions vary from group to group, we can expect the meaning of the same words also to vary.[1]

3. Studies of non-linguistic factors in communication. Studies focused directly on the non-linguistic (other than the paralinguistic) factors in communication are rare. The writer has found only one such empirical study. It does not happen to involve the cross-cultural dimension, but it is the most directly relevant of any studies yet located. Since it does not involve communication which is cross-cultural, it clearly demonstrates that between two speakers of the same language, the words are often meaningless if the unspoken contexts are not shared by both, Harold Garfinkel's insightful study[2] shows that, when college students give verbatim reports of conversations in their homes, the meaning of these conversations is frequently obscurred from the outsider who does not share the same developing context of experience.

This interpretation of the complete meaning illustrates the communication function of the unspoken context, or the non-linguistic context, which Garfinkel calls the "un-noticed common background of expectations."

Although Garfinkel's study deals with communicators using their native language and interacting in their own culture, the findings are directly relevant to cross-cultural communication because the very fact that the language barrier is eliminated provides a clearer demonstration that the non-linguistic factors alone account for the "outsider's" inability to interpret correctly the meaning

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[1]Such studies include:
Chic Conwell, The Professional Thief.

George L. Trager, "'Cottonwood' = 'Tree': A Southwestern Linguistic Trait" in Dell Hymes (ed.), Language in Culture and Society, New York: Harper & Row, 1964, pp. 467-68.

William Bright, "Social Dialect and Language History," Ibid., pp. 469-72.

Antoine Meillet, "How Words Change Their Meaning," Talcott Parsons (et al) Ed., Theories of Society, Vol. II, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1961, pp. 1013-1018.

[2]Harold Garfinkel, "Studies of the Routine Grounds of Everyday Activities," Social Problems, Vol. II, No. 3 (Winter, 1964), pp. 225-250.

of the words. In this case the "outsider" is any person who does not share the knowledge of the unique immediate past history of this particular family's interaction. Since this non-linguistic context is a constantly developing and shifting background of experience, there is no practical way to provide the outsiders with any permanent cultural context to be used in decoding the message between members of the ingroup. There are no misinterpretations due to the outsider's ignorance of any of the stable cultural patterns because these patterns are shared with the insider.

In contrast, the members of the ingroup and outgroup in the case of cross-cultural communication do not share many of the stable, formal and informal culture patterns which provide the context for the correct interpretation of the words. In this case, therefore, the description of those stable patterns of the host culture which conflict with the stable patterns of the foreigner's culture will provide a cultural map which will contribute substantially to the outsider's ability to communicate with the insiders.

C. The syllogistic model. Once we have established the essential incompleteness of the spoken (or written) word in the communication process and have demonstrated the fundamental importance of the unexpressed but shared cultural patterns, we then need to provide some conceptual scheme to sharpen further the focus of investigation by showing the nature of the relationship between the manifest content of the words and the latent cultural context which can account for both successful and unsuccessful attempts to communicate. This focus may be provided in the form of a syllogistic model of communication in which the major premise consists of those unspoken culturally determined subjective orientations (conscious or unconscious) which are relevant to (or brought into play by) the situation in which the communication takes place. This is the cultural baggage each party to the dialogue brings with him.

The minor premise is developed in the cross-cultural dialogue and consists of the words exchanged or the direct observations by the participants of each other's actions. The conclusion in this syllogism is the meaning which each participant gains in the exchange. Thus the meaning is an interpretation involving much more than the mere information gained in the exchange.

In this syllogistic model communication may break down for any one of a number of reasons:

(1) The communicators may not share the same culturally determined major premises.

(2) The communicators may not share the same meaning for the words which constitute the minor premise.

(3) The communicators may not accurately observe the other's behavior which also constitute the minor premise.

(4) The communicators may not reason logically from the major and minor premises to draw the correct conclusions.

Our principal concern is with the communication failure due to cause (1) on page six, and our secondary concern is with cause (4) which is often intertwined with (1) since the major premise may include strong ethnocentric attitudes which interfere with the cross-cultural application of logic.[1]

We are not concerned with the problems of understanding either a foreign language or one's own language which have been so well analyzed by linguists and semanticists. Nor do we propose to focus on those modes of non-verbal communication included in the ambit of paralinguistics; nor will we concern ourselves with the accuracy of observation as it is dealt with by psychologists. Instead, we will focus on the questions:

a. Which unspoken, culturally-patterned, subjective orientations of the communicators are brought into play as conflicting major premises in certain cross-cultural communication settings so that the communicators may logically arrive at conflicting interpretations (conclusions) despite agreement on the meaning of the words which constitute the minor premise?

b. Which cultural values give rise to strong ethnocentric attitudes which interfere with logical reasoning in certain cross-cultural communication settings?

In this project the major focus was upon the first of these two basic questions.

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[1]For a clear demonstration of the distorting effects of ethnocentrism upon one's ability to reason logically, see Raymond L. Gorden, "The Effect of Attitude Toward Russia on Logical Reasoning," The Journal of Social Psychology, 1953, Vol. 37, pp. 103-111.

II. Method

To obtain the most candid responses we had North Americans interview the North Americans and Colombians interview the Colombians in the exploratory depth interviews. Information was also collected by participant-observation, and structured interviews. Also "observation assignments" were obtained from the North Americans.

The North Americans were undergraduate students from over 20 colleges and universities in the United States who, under the auspices of CEUCA were studying at Universidad de los Andes, Universidad Javeriana, Universidad Nacional, Escuela Superior de Administración Pública, and the Seminario Andrés Bello of the Instituto Caro y Cuervo, all in Bogotá. The Colombians who were interviewed included foreign student advisors, professors, librarians and the señoras of the host families.

Initial exploratory interviews with North Americans aimed at locating these situations in which they showed confusion, frustration, anxiety, hostility or other symptoms of cross-cultural communication breakdown. Interviews with the Colombians with whom they interacted in these situations were designed to detect differences between the North Americans and the Colombians in their assumptions, expectations, or definitions of the situation which acted as the major premise in our syllogistic model.

To detect the silent assumptions it was necessary to reverse the syllogistic process from deductive to inductive in the interview by first obtaining the respondent's feelings and beliefs (conclusions) about the person of the other culture, then probing for the specific, concrete observations of what the other did or said (minor premise) upon which the conclusions were based. Finally through either further probing or through inductive analysis of the data it was possible to delineate some of the assumptions (major premises) used to interpret and evaluate the observations to arrive at the particular conclusion.

The more structured interviews were used to obtain a quantitative estimate of the frequency with which certain observations and conclusions were made.

The quantitative data from structured interviews and observation assignments, the qualitative data from the depth interviews and the insights gained by the investigator's participant-observation over a two-year period are all then combined in the instructional materials to maintain

an experientially meaningful context while basic principles of cross-cultural communication are related to concrete statistical and case materials.

III. Results

Since the ultimate aim of this project is to produce instructional materials to help North Americans bridge the non-linguistic culture gap between themselves and Latin Americans and since this involves the collection of field data as a means to this end, we will report the results in two phases. First is a description of the type and amount of data thus far collected, and second is a description of the instructional materials finished thus far.

A. Summary of Data Gathered and Processed. By tape recorded depth interviews, structured interviews, and participant observation assignments, we have collected data concerning twelve areas of interaction. Table 1 summarizes the data collected by depth interviews; Table 2 summarizes the data collected by structured interviews; and Table 3 summarizes the data collected by observation assignments.

1. Tape-recorded depth interviews.

a. Host family señoras: As seen in Table 1, 38 depth interviews were completed (translated, transcribed and analyzed) with the señoras of Colombian families who housed GLCA undergraduate students and Peace Corps Trainees for a period of 10 weeks to a full year. One set of questions probed for symptoms of miscommunication and conflict such as surprise (violation of expectations), humor (another type of violation of expectations), anxiety, hostility, distrust, etc. Another set of questions dealt with the images of the guest as a personality; another set probed for role conflicts produced by the presence of the guest in the home; a final set of questions dealt with the types of activities shared or not shared by host and guest.

b. Colombian professors: These depth interviews with professors dealt mainly with their perception of the American as a student in his relationship to the professor, to the institution in general, and to his fellow students. An effort was made to deal with certain specific points which had seemed problematical for the American students who were interviewed previously. Some of the professor's views on the U.S. which he had prior to meeting specific American students in Colombia were obtained by

discussing the professor's experiences (if any) as a student or professor in the United States.

Table 1

Data Collected in Tape-Recorded Depth Interviews

Interviewee	Number of questions asked	Number of persons interviewed	Pages of transcribed material
Host señoras	85	38	1,613
Professors	24	16	416
Students	24	33	838
TOTALS	133	87	2,867

c. American students: The most exploratory and serendipitous of the depth interviews were those with the American students because they were done first to provide a basis for structuring the subsequent interviews with Colombians around certain areas which were problematic for the Americans in dealing with the Latin American culture. These interviews were aimed mainly at the symptomatic level but endeavored to cover the student's initial impressions upon arrival, his experiences with the Colombian families, his experiences in the Colombian universities and his general extracurricular social activities.

These 2,867 pages of depth interview materials were partially analyzed before designing the guides for the structured interviews and observation assignments. These depth interviews served two different purposes: (a) they served as a basis for developing the structured interview guides, (b) they are rich in examples, contextual description, and evidence of thought processes, all of which give meaning to the statistical results of the more structured interviews.

2. Structured interviews. The major purpose of the structured interviews was to obtain an estimate of the relative frequency (or importance) of the various types of perceptions and misperceptions of the person from the other culture. Table 2 summarizes the amount and type of data collected from each of the seven structured interviews.

Table 2

Type and Amount of Data Collected by Structured Interviews

Interviewee	Subject matter	No. of persons interviewed	No. of questions asked
Señoras[1] (Col.)	Images of the American guest	40	72
Señoras (Col.)	Proper role of the guest	44	59
Students (Amer.)	Proper role of the guest	20	78
Señoras (Col.)	Boy-girl relations[2]	40	59
Students (Amer.)	Boy-girl relations[3]	20	53
Professors (Col.)	Perceptions of Amer. students	5	58
Students (Amer.)	Perceptions of Colombian Univ.	35	40

[1]These are the señoras in the Colombian host-families.

[2]The questions concern the señora's views of the appropriate behavior mainly of young women in relation to the opposite sex.

[3]The students are asked the same questions as the señora with regard to appropriate behavior of young women, but they are asked to give their perceptions of the Colombian norms in this area.

a. Host family señoras: The areas covered in this interview are similar to those covered in the depth interviews with host family señoras described above except that there is more emphasis and a clearer focus upon specifics. This interview focuses on specific images of the American guest and his reaction to various aspects of the Colombian food, his manner of socializing with Colombians, his personal characteristics, his manner of dress and grooming, his attitude toward Colombia, his way of dealing with the maid and other miscellaneous items found to be problematical to the Colombian host or the North American guest.

b. Señora's view of the proper role of the guest: In this interview many specific behaviors of a guest in the Colombian household are grouped under the headings of (a) use of the bathroom, (b) appropriate dress for different times and places in the house, (c) ways in which the guest might share in the household chores, (d) receiving visitors in the house, (e) viewing television with the family, (f) manner of greeting family members, (g) gift-giving occasions, (h) paying of expenses, (i) dealing with the maid, (j) behavior at meals, (k) asking for or taking advice.

c. Students' perceptions of their role as guest: The students are asked the same questions described in (b) above except that students are asked to give what they feel the señora in their host families expects of them on each point. A comparison of the señora's responses with those of the student allows us to locate the areas of most frequent breakdown in communication between guest and host.

d. Señora's perceptions of appropriate boy-girl relations: This interview focuses on specific points which have already been demonstrated as problematical for the American girls only. The American girls often complained that they were not treated with respect by the Colombian males. Basically the problem is that their behavior is interpreted by the Colombians as inviting disrespect.

The señoras were asked how a respectable girl is expected to act in accepting invitations, in obtaining parental permissions, in being chaperoned on dates, dancing at a party, drinking at a party, responding to improper advances of males, keeping appropriate hours and in the novio relationship. In all of these areas the North American and Latin American assumptions and norms differ considerably.

e. Student's perceptions of boy-girl relations: The same questions as those described in (d) are included. But the student is asked to give the point of view he would expect his own mother to take and to give the point of view of the host-family señora on each of 22 issues. By comparing these responses with those of the señoras, we can detect the extent to which the American guest has communicated with his host on this matter and the extent to which the guest's perceptions are distorted by his own cultural background.

f. Colombian professors' perceptions of American students: This interview includes questions on the professor's perceptions: (1) his perceptions of the student's background and motivation, (2) his perceptions of the student's attitudes toward the professor or the subject matter of the course, and (3) the professor's perception of the differences between the Latin American and the North American university in these areas which were discovered to be problematical in the depth interviews with the North American students. There were also questions about the professor's own philosophy of teaching. All of these dimensions can be compared with the perceptions of the North American students to find most frequent areas of miscommunication and to locate some of the divergent assumptions.

g. Students' perceptions of the Colombian university: The students were asked their perceptions of the Colombian course-load, the matriculation process, and the overall organization of the university. They were also asked their perceptions of their relations with other students, their relations with the faculty, and their perceptions of the professor's attitudes toward them. All of these dimensions can be compared with the professor's point of view.

3. Observation assignments. On the basis of the depth interviews with students, we constructed observation guides dealing with the time and space dimensions of the Colombian household and with family food customs. After a lecture session dealing with Colombian family life, the students and Peace Corps Trainees at CEUCA used these guides during the following week. The observations thus collected served as the basis for discussion at subsequent meetings.

a. Observations of time-space dimensions of household: GLCA students and Peace Corps Trainees made guided observations regarding certain space-time dimensions

of the household activities. These helped determine the prevalence of those dimensions which through the interviews had already been discovered to act as barriers to communication between the Colombian host family and the North American guest.

b. Observations of host family food customs: The depth interviews with North Americans had shown that one source of anxiety and confusion in living in a Colombian home centers around the unfamiliar foods and the different cultural assumptions regarding the serving of food. This served to quantify the occurrence of patterns unfamiliar to the North Americans.

Table 3

Observation Assignments by GLCA Students and Peace Corps Trainees

	Items each	Number completed
Time-space dimensions of Colombian household	62	32
Colombian host-family food customs	230	44

B. Completed Units of Instructional Materials. As shown in Appendix 1 we have collected data related to fourteen distinct units of instruction. The first two of these called the Initial Immersion in the Foreign Culture and Spanish Personal Names are completed. The next three units are partially written as of June 5, 1968, and many of the others will be completed if the project's contract is renewed for another year.

1. The initial immersion. The table of contents for the Initial Immersion in the Foreign Culture is given in Appendix 2. This is an attempt to provide some insight into the types of communications problems encountered in the initial few hours and days of immersion in a foreign culture by first presenting some background information of the Bogotá setting into which the North American is going to arrive. Through the presentation of "John's Arrival"

(which is a composite of the typical responses gathered from interviews with American students), we show what is a normal response of the neophyte foreigner. We then show how John draws erroneous conclusions which he thinks of as simple factual observations.

Through this case which is rich with the details of the foreign culture context, we introduce the idea that John's "observations" are actually conclusions based upon his interpretation of the facts on the basis of certain culturally determined assumptions which he, as a North American, unconsciously brings with him to Bogotá.

We also point out in the discussion of "John's Arrival" how the linguistic and non-linguistic factors are intertwined. Although we provide a list of Colombianismos and localismos encountered in this case, most of the discussion deals with the non-linguistic barriers to communication.

The second case study is not a composite of many interviews but a case in which all of the incidents happened to the same person. This case entitled "Family or boarding house?" demonstrates how five different North American cultural assumptions conspired to distort the North American's interpretations of his observations to draw the conclusion that he was living in a boarding house rather than in a private home. Some statistical descriptions of the Colombian host-family households are given to illustrate the error in the North American's assumption regarding the nature of a "home."

2. Spanish personal names. The table of contents for the second unit, Spanish Personal Names: As Barriers to Cross-Cultural Communication, is given in Appendix 3. This unit is mainly concerned with the non-linguistic aspects of the Spanish naming system, but it deals with the linguistic aspect by providing appendices of priority lists of Spanish nombres and apellidos most frequently used in the Spanish-speaking capital cities of Latin America. The lists for Latin America in general and for each of the capital cities are broken down into priority lists according to popularity in each city. This seemed to be the only practical way to help the student cope with the fact that there are over 30,000 personal names currently in use in Latin America. These help him to concentrate on the most essential names.

Three non-linguistic dimensions of the Spanish naming system were found to be most problematical for the North American trying to operate in Colombia: (a) the differences

between the English "full-name" and the Spanish "nombre completo," (b) the nombre completo in the Spanish kinship system, and (c) the manner of alphabetizing the Spanish nombre completo. Illustrative cases are given to show how communication failure resulted from not understanding these three cultural patterns dealing with the naming system.

Appendices are included on the Origin of 101 Most Popular Latin American Nombres, Masculine Nombres Used in Latin America, Femenine Nombres Used in Latin America, Priority Lists of Apellidos in Latin America and Eleven Capital Cities, Methodological Note on the Development of the Priority Lists, and a Self-test on Spanish Personal Names. The test can be used diagnostically to determine which dimensions of the naming system are not clearly understood by the student.

This knowledge is essential for anyone who needs to use a telephone book, a library, or any public records in Latin America. Less obvious but just as important is the value of this information to understand lectures, conversations, and things going on about us while we are immersed in the Latin American culture.

IV. Discussion

Each of the completed units of instructional materials includes a discussion of the meaning and limitations of the findings so we will not repeat this here. Instead we will point out some of the more general problems inherent in this type of research, some of the strategies used to deal with the problems, and some of the limitations in the materials produced to date.

There are several problems related to the general purpose of this research. We need to keep in mind that we are not simply trying to specify some of the non-linguistic differences between two culture patterns, but to delineate those which act as obstacles to communication between the two cultures.

There are many attempts to summarize in a succinct fashion the basic differences between the North American and Latin American cultures, and many of these seem to be

related to potential communication problems. Following are some of these comparisons:[1]

> "The North American esteems and understands science while to the Latin American science is magic looked on as a panacea."
>
> "The sense of justice and fair play is a common concern in the United States but is the concern only of the leader in Latin America."
>
> "The American will settle for the best working arrangement while the Latin American seeks the perfect solution."
>
> "Latin Americans express their love of adventure at times in power struggles and military action rather than in outdoor activities as do North Americans."

These kinds of comparative statements have two basic shortcomings. There is no empirical foundation for the generalizations which might therefore simply be ethnocentric projections of judgments. Assuming such statements were true, there is little evidence of how they are related to cross-cultural communication problems.

To focus the study on those differences which inhibit cross-cultural communication, we began by exploring the interaction between North Americans and Latin Americans <u>in situ</u>. This meant we needed some situation in which fairly large numbers of Americans could be studied in their interaction with Latin Americans. Since it is impractical to chase North Americans around Latin America, we must accept and be conscious of the limitations imposed by our basic strategy.

The types of non-linguistic barriers we have discovered are to a great extent limited by the particular situations in which North American undergraduate students and Peace Corps Trainees actually come into functional contact with the Latin American culture. The second limitation, of course, is that the particular Bogotanos with whom the

---

[1]Richard H. Hancock, "A Comparative Analysis of Latin American and United States Societies," Unpublished lecture to Peace Corps Trainees, (no date), and Burt Burson, "Latin American and U.S. Societies: A Comparative Analysis," Unpublished lecture to Peace Corps Trainees (no date), are examples of attempts to summarize basic cultural differences between Latin Americans and North Americans.

North Americans interacted are members of some as yet undelineated Latin American sub-culture. Therefore, the question of the generality of applicability becomes a legitimate one.

There can be no general answer to the question, "Would these particular barriers apply to any North American operating anywhere in Latin America?" As pointed out by Gillin[1] the national cultures in Latin America show considerable variation; there is also considerable cultural variation within a Latin American country because of rural-urban, regional and social class differences. However, there is considerable evidence that there are some common cultural themes running throughout all of Latin America.

It is not within the scope of this project to determine which of those non-linguistic barriers to cross-cultural communication are universal to Latin American culture and which are local subculture characteristics. The particular barrier to communication between a Peace Corps Trainee and the señora in the Bogotano host family may or may not be present in a campesino household fifty miles from Bogotá or in a middleclass household in Lima, Peru.

There are two remedies for this limitation. First, some cultural patterns are already known to be common to all of Spanish-speaking Latin America such as the Spanish system of personal names. This naming system was found to be a ubiquitous stumbling block to North Americans in Bogotá, and can be assumed to be an importan barrier to North Americans trying to interact anywhere in Latin America.

Second, in those cases where the specific cultural dissonance inhibiting the communication is not known to be universal to Latin America, we can stress the analysis of how a non-linguistic culture difference can act as a barrier. This is the situation in the instructional unit entitled The Initial Immersion in the Foreign Culture in which a theoreticalframework is introduced to show how any cultural difference can act as a barrier to communication. This framework has both a theoretical and practical value in sensitizing the potential cross-cultural communicator to the kinds of non-linguistic problems which can come into play in the cross-cultural setting. Thus, where the specific barrier has not yet been demonstrated to be universal in Latin America, or even where it has been demonstrated

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[1]John Gillin, "Ethos Components in Modern Latin American Culture," American Anthropologist, Vol. 57 (1955), No. 3, pp. 488-500.

to lack universality, there is still considerable value in linking the general theoretical model with the specific concrete illustrations.

There is also some comfort in realizing that, regardless of the limitations to generalizability which are associated with a study of urban middle class North Americans and Latin Americans while omitting lower class and rural people, we are dealing with those subcultures of both the United States and Latin America most likely to become involved in cross-cultural communication.

V. Conclusions, Implications and Recommendations

Instructional materials

All of the assumptions stated below were held by North Americans and proved to be incorrect in the Latin American environment in which they were immersed. How each one differs from the Latin American's assumptions and the specific miscommunications resulting are given in detail in the two units of instructional materials thus far completed.

Unit 1. Initial Immersion in the Foreign Culture

Traffic behavior

(1) Rush-hour traffic is over downtown after six o'clock.

(2) Cars travel in traffic lanes on wide streets.

(3) Drivers of cars try to keep a wide margin of safety.

(4) A good driver "reads" the traffic far ahead to avoid constantly using the brakes.

(5) Pedestrians do not jay walk particularly during rush hours.

(6) Cars usually stop at stop signs, even on side streets.

(7) Taxis are supposed to charge the amount indicated on the meter.

Homelife

(1) A household unit is composed of only the parents, children and occasional relatives visiting for a short term.

(2) In a respectable middle-class family the parents and children try to eat breakfast and dinner together as much as possible.

(3) Breakfast time is limited to not more than one hour.

(4) Everybody in the family eats breakfast in the same place in the house.

(5) Children do not address parents as "m'am" and "sir."

(6) In a respectable middle-class household it is never necessary to lock a bedroom, living room, kitchen or refrigerator.

Unit 2. Spanish Personal Names

The concept of the full-name

(1) Men never have María or Carmen as a given name.

(2) Women never have Jesús or José as a given name.

(3) A given name always consists of one word.

(4) A surname always consists of only one word.

(5) Each person has only one last name.

(6) If a person uses an initial when writing his full name, it is always in place of a given name.

(7) Even though Latin Americans have two surnames, the North American has only one so he cannot possibly meet the Latin American's expectations that he has two. There would be no practical value in having a second surname.

Names in the kinship pattern

(1) When a woman is married, she drops her original surname in exchange for her husband's surname.

(2) All members of the family (parents and children) have one and the same last name.

(3) If two people are cousins, they must have either the same first surname (primer apellido) or the same second surname (segundo apellido).

Alphabetization of full names

(1) The name Machado would procede Macoda in an alphabetized list.

(2) When the parts of the full name are reversed to be alphabetized, the order of the parts would be the same for married or unmarried women's names.

(3) When full names are arranged in alphabetical order, the parts of the name are taken into consideration in the same order they are printed on the line.

Most, but not all, of the North American assumptions above are explicitly stated in the discussions of the case-studies presented in the instructional materials. However, a few are revealed only implicitly and are not discussed in order to avoid confusing complexity in the analysis of a case.

Beyond the specific findings from the data already analyzed, we have some strong impressions about the implications of what we are doing which bear upon both the methodological problems of any study of cross-cultural communication and upon possible uses of the findings.

Methodological Implications

(1) Do studies in situ: It has become very clear that studies of cross-cultural communication (at least when viewed as direct interpersonal relations) must be studied in situ. This is to say that there are glaring possibilities for collecting erroneous data by interviewing, for example, Americans returning from abroad, because the "facts" which he sincerely reports about his experiences are not facts but his interpretations of his observations. They are conclusions often based upon erroneous assumptions.

(2) Use dual viewpoint: It is also very clear on the basis of our experiences that there is often no way of determining errors in the sojourner's conclusions without a crosscheck from the point of view of the members of the host culture.

(3) Do direct observation: An ideal approach to the study of cross-cultural communication would be to have a bi-cultural team of researchers directly observe or participate in a particular situation where North Americans and Latin Americans are interacting. Then have the Latin American researchers interview the same Latin Americans and the North American researchers interview the same North Americans regarding specific points in that interaction. Although we were not able to reach this ideal in this exploratory study, we have found that many dissonant assumptions can be discovered with our less logically neat method.

(4) Record the interaction: Ideally, that interaction which is observed by the social scientist should

be filmed and recorded so that the original interaction could be repeatedly re-analyzed in the light of conflicting interpretations of the event by the representatives of the two cultures. In our exploratory attempt we were able to collect three tape-recorded discussions between North American and Latin American students at the Universidad Javeriana.

Application of results

(1) Combine the linguistic and non-linguistic: Our research has shown that there is an intimate relationship between the linguistic and the non-linguistic factors in cross-cultural communication which strongly suggests that whenever possible the two aspects should be dealt with simultaneously in language instruction materials.

(2) Avoid having the blind leading the blind: In view of methodological points (1) and (2) above, there are serious doubts as to the legitimacy of using American returnees from abroad as experts and authorities "who know from direct experience" to orient undergraduate students or Peace Corps Trainees planning to go abroad. This procedure in some cases is sure to compound the error and crystalize the ethnocentric distortions of communication.

(3) Attitudinal forces affect communication: The primary focus of this research was to discover those dissonant cultural assumptions (major premises) which cause members of different cultures to draw different conclusions from the same observations (minor premises). However, we have encountered considerable evidence that in certain cases, when there is faulty logic resulting from strong prejudice against the people of the other culture, simply correcting the major premise would not prevent distortion of communication.

(4) Vary method of presenting materials: Point three suggests that, in many cases where the ethnocentric attitudes cause logical distortion, the task of instruction is not merely to inform but to change social values, to bring into play neutralizing values, or to deal with personal insecurities which will free the mind to work more logically. In the unit on Spanish Personal Names there is probably a minimal degree of threat to the North American reader's values and ego. In the unit on the Initial Immersion in the Foreign Culture there are certain items which tend to rouse the North American, particularly when he is exposed to the real situations. This suggests that, as the materials become more ego involved or more threatening to one's cultural values, the methods and techniques of

instruction must branch out perhaps to include carefully engineered group discussions, role-playing, and audio-visual approaches which will enhance reality. Or it may be found that some of these attitudinal problems can be dealt with most effectively by using the instructional materials only while the North American is actually undergoing the experiences in the foreign culture.

(5) Some channels for disseminating materials: In addition to being used by the non-professional undergraduate, some of the types of materials being produced here may be used in a remedial way with North Americans already in the Latin American field. The writer was struck by the fact that some government personnel with over ten years experience in Latin America still did not know how to alphabetize Spanish names correctly and could not find names in Latin American telephone books. This suggests that possibly the Foreign Service Institute, Peace Corps and other U.S. Government agencies with dealings in Latin America might find some legitimate use for certain portion of the material being produced on this project.

VI. Summary

A. Purpose. This project is aimed at producing instructional materials designed to help bridge the communication gap between North Americans and Latin Americans by surmounting the non-linguistic barriers to communication. Here we use "non-linguistic" to refer to those culturally determined silent assumptions which provide the context for interpreting the meaning of what the North American sees or hears while in Latin America.

The project involves two phases which are sometimes going on simultaneously. The field observations of North Americans and Latin Americans must be made to discover the sources of mis-communication; then these data must be converted into instructional materials.

B. Method. American interviewers obtained information from 130 American undergraduate students and Peace Corps Trainees who lived with Colombian families while studying in Bogotá under the auspices of CEUCA.[1] Colombian inter-

[1]CEUCA (Centro de Estudios Universitarios Colombo-Americano) is the Colombian portion of the Latin America Program of the Great Lakes Colleges Association, administered by Antioch College.

viewers interviewed those Colombians who interacted frequenly with the North Americans including members of the host families, foreign student advisors, librarians, and professors.

A total of 33 exploratory depth interviews was done with Americans and over 54 with Colombians. These provided the basis for designing structured interviews and observation guides for Colombians and Americans. A total of 204 structured interviews was done with Colombians and Americans in Bogotá.

The principal theoretical framework used to guide the investigation is the "syllogistic model" of communication. This model views meaning as a conclusion derived from a major and minor premise. The major premise consists of the context of silent assumptions used to interpret the message. The minor premise consists of the information received through a verbal message or by observation. The actual meaning conveyed is a conclusion or interpretation of the information in the context of the unspoken (sometimes unconscious) assumptions.

According to this model two persons will miscommunicate when the meaning intended by the sender is not the same as the interpretation made by the receiver of a message. This can happen in two ways even though there is technical agreement on the content of the message. First, the sender and receiver have different silent assumptions used to interpret the message. Second, the sender or receiver may have strong ethnocentric attitudes which interfere with the logical process. The major focus of this study is upon the divergent assumptions underlying the attempts at communication between North Americans and Latin Americans.

C. Results. Information has been collected related to assumptions regarding the role of driver, pedestrian, guest, host, maid, student, and professor; regarding the organization of banks, households, universities, libraries, and Spanish personal names; and about such activities as dating, television viewing, gift-giving, paying the check, etc.

Thus far instructional materials have been developed to show how common silent assumptions held by North Americans caused them to arrive at distorted conclusions. The first unit entitled, Initial Immersion in the Foreign Culture (68 pages) illustrates a wide variety of miscommunications occurring within the first 24 hours after the North American's arrival in Bogotá. It demonstrates how American assumptions such as the following resulted in

distorted conclusions: Cars stop at stop signs even on side streets in a large city, taxis are supposed to charge the amount indicated on the meter, all members of a family should eat breakfast at the same time and place in the house, parents and children in the same family have one and the same last name.

The second unit of instructional materials entitled, Spanish Personal Names (142 pages) demonstrates how the North American has several false assumptions about the nature of a full name, about the relationship between the Spanish full names and the kinship system, and about the system for alphabetizing full names. These incorrect assumptions prevented students from matriculating in Colombian universities, made it difficult to use a library, telephone or other alphabetized list of personal names, and caused a variety of confusions in ordinary social situations.

This study clearly demonstrates that knowing a foreign language without a parallel knowledge of the foreign culture does not result in effective cross-cultural communication. It shows that the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of the culture are closely linked in the communication process and suggests that both aspects should be dealt with simultaneously in language instruction materials. It also suggests that the use of American returnees from abroad "who know by direct experience" to orient undergraduate students or Peace Corps Trainees may only compound the distortion of cross-cultural communication based on ethnocentric assumptions.

Appendix 1

UNITS OF INSTRUCTION WHICH COULD BE DEVELOPED FROM THE DATA[1]

	Tentative title of unit	Pages of material	Percent completed[2]
(1)	Initial Immersion in the Culture	75	100
(2)	Spanish Personal Names	145	100
(3)	Time-Space Dimensions of the Household	100	50
(4)	Assumptions Regarding the Role of Guest	75	25
(5)	Matriculating in a Colombian University	?	10
(6)	Student-Professor Relationships in Colombia	?	0
(7)	Culture-Schock, a Two-Way Process	?	10
(8)	Party Patterns and Gift-Giving	?	0
(9)	Miscommunication Between the Sexes	?	0
(10)	Colombian Perceptions of North Americans	?	0
(11)	Time-Space Patterns in the Colombian University	?	0
(12)	Colombian Foods and Meals	?	0
(13)	Using Latin American Libraries	?	0
(14)	Theory of Cross-Cultural Communication	?	0

[1]About 80% of all the data needed for all of these units are collected and about 55% are analyzed.

[2]This is the percentage of the writing which is completed. Only the first two units are completed in final draft.

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